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Hutus vs. Tutsis

by Murray N. Rothbard

The mass butchery in Rwanda provides several important and instructive lessons to the American people, lessons which—surprise, surprise!—are emphatically *not* being pointed out by our beloved media.

In the first place, we see starkly revealed the idiocy of the New World Order and the attempt of our global social democrats to impose "democracy," multiculturalism and multiethnicity on the entire world. The blue-helmeted troops of the United Nations, mainly French and Belgians as a legacy of Belgian imperialism in Rwanda and neighboring Burundi, have had to stand by helplessly while the massacre proceeded, and some of them were even cut down in the crossfire. So, what next, Slick Willie? Shall it be the usual American "solution": air strikes against Tutu and/or Hutsi, or maybe send in a few hundred thousand ground troops to establish "free elections" and "human rights" in Rwanda and Burundi? Lotsaluck.

The mass butchery in Rwanda provides several important and instructive lessons.

In dealing with crime, liberals like to concentrate on "root causes" rather than on crime, whereas conservatives want to zap the criminals. The two concerns are not really mutually exclusive, however; the real problem is that the liberals are concentrating on the *wrong* "root causes." That is, on "poverty" or "child abuse" instead of a rotten, immoral character and the factors that may give rise to such a character, e.g. lack of respect for private property, unwillingness to work, and emphasis on sort-run "kicks" instead of forethought about the future. In the Rwanda massacres, liberals area again unwilling to face the root causes: clashing tribes in a

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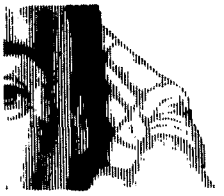

THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

Big controversy, still underground, over the Nixon funeral: Billy Graham talked about Christ's crucifixion, the Christian belief that Christ is the only path to the Father, and other extremely unfashionable ideas, on national TV. The next presidential funeral will have, the Ear hears, a much more tolerant, non-divisive, democratic, and ecumenical preacher, i.e., a sell-out.

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Bill and Hillary had claimed, during the campaign, to have invested $60,000 in Whitewater. But on their tax

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(THE EAR cont. from pg. 1)
return they said $46,636. And now the *Los Angeles Times* has revealed that Whitewater's corporate documents show a Clintonian stake of just $13,000. Does the Duplicitous Duo tell the truth about *anything*?

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According to the London *Independent*, Paula Jones claims to have seen an abnormality in President Clinton's nether regions. All he has to do is "drop his pants again," says an English reporter, to clear (or convict) himself.

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Or we could give Bill the Michael Jackson Treatment, and photograph him.

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The English press also reports on Clintonian wife-swapping when governor. These events, where the two couples would engage in sex in the same motel room, were known as Bill and Hillary's "double dates."

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Is Clinton here to stay, asks Joe Sobran, or is he just a "flasher in the pan"?

*****

When Steve Gunderson (Rep.-Wisc.), long a promoter of the homosexual agenda in Congress, called for federal funding for childhood AIDS propaganda, Bob Dornan (Rep. -Cal.) responded, "You faggot, you queer, you promiscuous fairy! You have a revolving door on your closet!" Steve went into near hysterics over Bob's "homophobia" and "bigotry." Unfortunately, the incident was purged from the so-called *Congressional Record*.

*****

For the first time in American history, a young woman bared her breasts at the President (while he was, appropriately enough, in California). Why isn't this seen as a commentary on Lecherous Bill? Even the Randy Prince of Camelot didn't have that happen to him.

Bob Dornan (Rep. -Cal.) responded, "You faggot, you queer, you promiscuous fairy!"

*****

Supreme Court Justice Ruth Ginsburg is displaying about as much charm as all the other Clintonian appointees. Apparently, she has already angered all of her colleagues on the Court. The problem is not ideological, but esthetic: she persistently interrupts her fellow jurists. Recently, the session of the Court began to sound like *Crossfire*, as Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, once again interrupted by La Ginsburg, snapped back: "Excuse me! Just let me finish if I may." Will the odious Mike Kinsley be the next appointee?

*****

Quip going the NRA Rounds: If Vince Foster had only owned a gun, he'd be alive today. ■

(HUTUS VS. TUTSI cont. from pg. 1)
fairly small territorial area.

Contrary to myth about the "overpopulated" Third World, African density is generally very low compared to the rest of the world. The reasons are not difficult to figure out: if there is little or no capital equipment or economic development, the African land area will only support a small population. Before the European imperialism of the nineteenth century, then, various African tribes had a considerable amount of room to roam around in, without getting in each other's hair. European imperialism, however,—British, French, German, Belgian, Portuguese—carved out and conquered land areas, creating various

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phony "countries," with total disregard for the integrity of the various tribes, most of whom, as in the Balkans, the Caucasus, and nearly everywhere else, have little or nothing in common and hate each other's guts. European imperialism, however, artificially incorporated various clashing tribes into one "country," and, on the other hand, split up the same tribes imposing artificial "borders" within their territory. Setting the stage, of course, inevitably, for bitter conflicts and warfare after the imperialists pulled out after World War II. The manner of pulling out made things worse: for the retiring European empires turned over these "countries" to Marxoid bureaucratic elites who had been detribalized and had been educated—or better, "trained"—in the Marxist-dominated elite universities of the imperial capitals: London, Paris, Brussels, or Lisbon.

The ethno-racial clashes between African tribes have been particularly murderous in Rwanda and Burundi because these two small areas are the densest in Africa. Rwanda, for example, has about seven million people in an area the size of Vermont—not a heckuvalot by Western European standards, but very dense for Africa. In this relatively small area there has lived for centuries, side by side and at each other's throats, two very different racial tribes: the Hutu and Tutsi. The Tutsi are familiar to all those who saw that grand epic movie, *King Solomon's Mines* (the 1950 version with Stewart Granger and Deborah Kerr); they are a tall, slender, graceful, noble-looking tribe, there called the Watusi. The Tutsi are an Ethiopid, Nilotic people. The Hutu, on the other hand, are short, squat Bantu, a closer approximation to what used to be called "Negro" in America. "Negroes" are now called "black", but the problem here is that the skin color of both the Tutsi and the Hutu are much the same. The real issue, as in most other cases, is not skin color but various character traits of different population groups.

The Tutsi are familiar to all those who saw that grand epic movie, *King Solomon's Mines*.

The crucial point is that, in both Rwanda and Burundi, Hutus and Tutsis have coexisted for centuries; the Tutsi are about 15 percent of the total population, the Hutu about 85 percent. And yet consistently, over the centuries, the Tutsi have totally dominated, and even enserfed, the Hutu. How are we to explain this consistent pattern of domination by a small minority? Could it be —dare I say it—that along with being taller, slimmer, more graceful and noble-looking, the Tutsi are far more i-n-t-e-l-l-i-g-e-n-t than the Hutu? And yet what else explains this overriding fact?

Note: as a libertarian, I neither advocate nor condone the centuries-old pattern of domination by Tutsi over Hutu. I would love to see them coexist peacefully, participating in a division of labor joined together by a free market. But there is not a chance of a whoop in Hell for such a coexistence to take place. Or do you think that the UN or the US or NATO or some other super-coercive force, should march into Rwanda and Burundi with millions of highly armed troops to impose a "free market" on these people, or even, God forbid, social democracy? Again, lotsa luck.

Speaking of armies and intelligence, it is a remarkable fact that the current race war was touched off by the assassination of the two Hutu presidents of Rwanda and Burundi, who were flying in a plane over the Rwanda capital—and that this assassination was perpetrated by a Tutsi rocket fired from the ground, blowing up the plane. Now here we have a fascinating high-tech innovation in assas-

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sination theory and practice. Usually, heads of state are killed by rifle or revolver; or, sometimes by a bomb placed in a plane. But to assassinate by rocket! Wow! Looking at the recent exploits of our trillion-dollar Pentagon: dropping dud bombs on a Serbian truck, and shooting down our own helicopters over northern Iraq, maybe we should cut the military budget a lot more, and import some Tutsi engineers! ■

The Apotheosis of Tricky Dick

by M.N.R.

It is another fiendish turn of the screw, the latest acceleration of rampant statolatry in our culture. Every eighth-rate Supreme Court Justice who retires now gets elevated to the pantheon: First it was the nitwit "Thoroughgood" Marshall, keened over as a giant among men; and now it is the little creep Blackmun, hailed as a "spokesman for the oppressed," as if *that* is supposed to be a proper function for a high level jurist. (How about "upholding the Constitution," for starters?)

But Supreme Court judges, while close to divine status, sit only at the right hand of the godhead Himself, El Presidente. It is the President, *any* President, who now embodies the Supreme Power, and must be invested with divine attributes to match the scope of his powers. And so in death, every ex-President, regardless of party, of his status or reputation in life, must become clothed in the robes of magnificence, wisdom, and glory.

It keeps getting worse. For now the very man driven out of office in disgrace, returns, first as Wise Elder Statesman, and now, in death, cloaked in the robes of splendor. His nominal political enemy, Slick Willie, whose wife once helped Bring the Monster Milhous Down, now declares a "day of national homage" to none other than Tricky Dick, and we are even to be deprived of a day of postal delivery in Devious Dick's honor—as if these intrepid couriers needed any encouragement to deprive us of our mail!

And so the State, both parts of our sacred Two-Party System, bands together, swiftly and easily, to pay tribute to one of Their Own, and the rest of us are sucked into Playing the State's Game. And now it turns out that Willie has been receiving Wise Counsel from the Tricky One ever since his accession to the Throne. Would that Tricky had advised Clinton to concoct some potion that would make Willie disappear, once and for all!

And so History is revised and twisted out of all substance. All Presidents, and especially ex-Presidents, are noble and good, and they all get trotted out, like vultures perched on a wire, every time the current President wants to put across another "bipartisan" scam on the American people, such as NAFTA, or GATT. How long has it been since an ex-President roundly denounced the current occupier of the office? Has *anyone* done so since Hoover went after FDR?

In this entire scam, the Respectable Media, of course, participate enthusiastically in the anointment. If a man is perceived as an eighth-rater before taking office (such as Truman), then he, inevitably, is hailed for "growing in stature" in office, so that he leaves, four or eight years later, close to the gods. And if his term of office is brief or shameful, as in the case of Jimmy Carter or the Tricky One, then the man Grows as ex-President. So that Carter's disastrous term is overlarded by his dotty Good Works ever since—maybe we can send Jimmy to supervise closely, the next "free elections" in, say, Rwanda? And Devious Dick's shattered term is buried in the encomiums for his buttinski role as Elder Foreign Policy Statesman. Even more irritating, if possible, than Nixon's Foreign Policy status as a Kissinger-and-a-half, was his obvious delight in posing as yet another of the host of "Value-Free" Political Pundits that already infest the airwaves. Given a few more years, he might even have surpassed the likes of Wolf Blitzer and Bill Schneider.

But regardless how it's done, the key point is to make sure that by the time the ex-President shuffles off this

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mortal coil, the bad is swiftly interred with his bones, and the Good, real or fabricated, lives after him, in a blare of trumpets.

It is fitting, I suppose, that Tricky Dick should go down in life and in History as a "conservative." If any one man may be picked to sum up the victory of statist substance over tinpot rhetoric, of the triumph of Big Government Conservatism, Richard Nixon is that man.

Let us consider the Nixonian record—*in office*, that is, and not as the prosecutor of Alger Hiss or the Invisible Man on post-Nixon National Security Councils. What essentially did the Tricky One do? He succeeded in propelling the United States more vigorously toward Socialism than even his power-mad, brutish, and blackguardly predecessor, Lyndon Baines Johnson. The Tricky One, despite or perhaps because of his "conservative" billing, managed to:

-give an enormous and significant push to the march of socialized medicine—it is a straight and short line from the Tricky One to Hillary;

-accelerate the welfare state;

-give an enormous boost to "civil rights" and affirmative action;

-propose a monstrous plan to replace welfare by a guaranteed annual income for all—a far worse scheme even than Slick Willie's proposal to "end welfare as we know it";

-go totally off the gold standard, and thereby usher in a quarter-century of accelerated inflation and volatile economies;

-impose a disastrous system of price and wage freezes and controls, a scheme which he cynically imposed even though he realized before, during, and afterwards that it could never work;

-fastening the horrors of OSHA regulation on industry in the name of "safety";

-giving a crucial impetus to environmentalism by pushing through the horrible Environmental Protection Agency.

We are told that Nixon was willing to turn over the entire vital realm of domestic policy to the liberals so that he could concentrate on his real love: foreign policy. But what precisely did he accomplish in foreign affairs?

Allegedly trying to end the Vietnam War, he lengthened and greatly widened it, stepping up the mass murder.

But what about *detente*? Well, yes, he eased tensions a bit in the Cold War, but all that really amounted to is that he didn't go to war against the Russians. But, after all, none of the other Presidents, for all their bluster, did either.

But what of Nixon's allegedly supreme triumph, his Opening to China? But, after all, so what? It was nice to ease tensions with China, but, after the Chinese kicked the American rear in the Korean War, there was never a chance that the U.S. would go to war against the ChiComs either.

I submit that Richard Nixon's record was as empty and as bleak in foreign affairs as in domestic. Any achievements *at all* in the midst of the Nixonian miasma? Well, he *did* get rid of the draft. And he was personally a bright man, if that's any consolation.

And what of Watergate? What are Its Lessons? The most fascinating lesson is that the very Liberals who Brought Him Down with such glee are the ones busily rehabilitating his image from the grave, and burying Watergate in all the hoopla about Nixon's alleged wisdom.

But did Nixon deserve to be brought down? And wasn't Nixon's third-rate burglary no worse than the dark deeds committed by his predecessors? Yes, and yes. What Nixon did was no worse than FDR before him, or of course, Slick Willie did after him. The point is that they all, all, deserved to be Brought Down, and the sooner the better. The great thing about Watergate is that it made the unthinkable thinkable at long last, that it established the precedent for impeaching the Monster in the White House. And while they can bury Watergate, and they can rehabilitate the Tricky One's image all they want, they can install him in the Valhalla reserved for all ex-Presidents, but they can't take away from us the lovely knowledge that he—and Agnew just before him—was Brought Down, and if it can happen to him, it can happen to any one, even to whoever the current occupant may be. To throw one of the Liberal's favorite words in their face,

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what I loved most about Watergate was "the process"—the process of impeachment, of Bringing the Man Down.

For a heady year or two, I actually believed that Watergate had permanently discredited the Office of the President, and not just the man Nixon, that never again would the American public trust any politician, especially any occupant of the Oval Office. I was of course wrong—especially after Ronald Reagan restored The Trust that the Establishment yearns to inspire in every American sucker. But still he was tossed out; they can never take that knowledge away from us. And for that, in an ironic sense, we are forever indebted to the Man Milhous. ■

Howard Stern for Governor?

by M.N.R.

It is said that the happiest day of a man's life is the day he acquires his sailboat; the second happiest is the day he gets rid of it. Well, I wouldn't say that the day I first joined the Libertarian Party was the happiest day of my life; but the day I left—about five years ago—was surely my second happiest. After being a Big Honcho in the LP for many years, it feels great to get up in the morning and know that I *don't* have to attend the next National Committee meeting in some grungy hotel, or the next state or national convention. Above all, I don't have to worry about what crazy thing—platform, candidate, or official—the LP is going to fall into next, or worry about trying to head off this nutty deed at the pass.

So when the august *New York Times* erupted recently with a *front page* article (!) (April 3) on Howard Stern running for governor of New York on the Libertarian Party ticket, I didn't have to worry about whether or not such a race would be good or bad for the Party or its image, and if bad, to try to do something about it. *I didn't have to care at all.* I could just sit back and enjoy the spectacle. What a lark!

It was also fun to find out that this rather lengthy article, by-lined by Todd S. Purdum, featured two old friends of mine. (No, NOT Howard Stern!) One is Bob Goodman, a long-time Bronx activist, science writer, and earnest young man seeking ways of "outreach" for the LP. It seems that Goodman had been corresponding with Stern for years, possibly converting him to libertarianism, and of course has been listening regularly to Stern, notorious in the New York area as a very popular radio porno "shock jock" (to say "talk show host" doesn't quite give the flavor). When Stern announced on his program that he intended to challenge Mario Cuomo for the governor's spot, Goodman wrote suggesting he run on the Libertarian ticket. Stern agreed.

The Libertarian Party, which has only 600 members in New York State, no money, and no prospects for getting on the ballot, was of course enchanted, for Stern urged his listeners to pay the LP dues and sign up, so they can vote for delegates to the April 23 state convention at Albany to select the nominee. Suddenly, Money, signatures, and even votes will be flowing in! Visions of sugar plums began to race through Libertarian noggins, and national LP marketing director Tamara Clark of the Nevada LP was rushed out to head up the Stern-oriented signature drive to get the LP on the ballot in New York.

The other friend highlighted in the *New York Times* article is Jim Ostrowski, a young serious-minded Buffalo attorney, who is truly a great guy, and one of the finest people in the libertarian movement. Jim is the only one I feel sorry for in this whole affair, because he was the one slated to run for the gubernatorial nomination before this whole circus began. Ostrowski very honorably, if unusually, decided not to insist on the legal technicality that these new members are really ineligible to vote. Instead, Jim wants to battle Stern "on the merits of who's a better candidate." Well, there's no question of who's a better candidate, a more articulate spokesman, etc., but *that's* not going to be the deciding

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factor. I shudder to think of Jim Ostrowski soberly setting forth libertarian positions on the issues, while the skinny, eight-foot (?), half-naked hippie Stern yells insults and obscenities. Stern, of course, will win the nomination in a walk.

Essentially, apart from the rare principled "real person" such as Ostrowski, there are two basic wings to the Libertarian Party. Both wings are Left-Libertarian, but each stresses different aspects of the Left-Libertarian world-outlook. One wing tends to be "purist" in ideology, and hippie -rock-druggie in culture. The other wing is sober and "bourgeois" in culture, but opportunist and sellouty in ideology: their fondest dream is to get a job at some sellout think-tank, a sort of bush-league libertarian version of the Big Government Conservative-"free market" Washington think-tanks of the 1980s. The latter wing yearns for respectability, and is always eager to abandon uncomfortably consistent ideology for money and votes.

It is interesting to see what either wing will make of Howard Stern. The hippie wing will love Stern's porno-shock-jock culture, but will balk at Stern's Politically Incorrect attitude toward sensitive racial and sexual matters. Stern, for example, was just about the only media person in the country, *of any ideology*, to hail Lew Rockwell's scintillating anti-Rodney King column in the *LA Times just after* the first, doctored tape came out. Lew's courageous and principled column got him denunciations from across the entire libertarian movement—but Stern read Lew's column aloud on the air and applauded every word.

Stern was just about the only media person in the country, *of any ideology*, to hail Lew Rockwell's scintillating anti-Rodney King column.

Stern's announced platform for New York is simple, and interesting. He pledges to do three things immediately: bring back the death penalty, stagger road tolls so as to eliminate traffic congestion, and have road crews work only at night. Three simple and admirable planks, if not very far-reaching. And then, says Stern, he'd quit, and turn the state over to his lieutenant-governor.

If the hippie wing of the LP will applaud Stern's style but bristle at the shortage of ideology, the sellout wing will be happy to overlook the culture to get the money, votes, and publicity; but that wing, too, will balk at Stern's Political Incorrectness on race and sex.

Well, that's *their* problem.

But won't the Stern candidacy siphon off votes from the Republican candidate and spoil his chances to beat the monster Cuomo? The answers are Yes, and No. Yes, Stern will siphon off votes, but No, it will have no effect, because, as usual, the Republican Party in New York can't get its act together, and it is doubtful that any viable candidate will emerge from the muck. So it looks as if Cuomo, though now highly unpopular in the state, is going to waltz in again for his umpteenth term. For one thing, after his absurd performance in 1992, the chances of his running for President are nil. So anti-Cuomo conservatives won't be able to work up much of a passion to kick him out. And secondly, his finger to the wind, Cuomo has been making a lot of conservative-sounding noises, about the importance of the middle-class, lowering taxes, etc.

And finally, and of course, the Republican Party is hopelessly split on a candidate. The Party is rent by a bitter personal and ideological feud between two Italo-Americans who hold the highest Republican offices in the state: U.S. Senator Al D'Amato leading the center-right; and State Senate Majority Leader Ralph Marino, a buddy of the governor, heading the Republican liberal-left. Since Marino and D'Amato can't agree on

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a viable candidate against Cuomo, D'Amato, out of desperation, is plumping for Hudson Valley State Senator George Pataki. Pataki, by all accounts, is an estimable conservative; but he has one big problem: no one in New York has ever heard of him, including his own senatorial constituents. And Pataki hasn't got the personal fortune of a Perot or even of a Michael Huffington to get himself instant TV name recognition.

So, since chances of a viable and sound Republican candidate are minuscule, we all may as well relax and enjoy a Howard Stern run: at least it will shake up the Establishment.

*****

On April 23, the die was cast, and Howard Stern swept to victory for the Libertarian nomination for governor, winning by 2:1 on the first ballot over several veteran Libertarian Party rivals. Stern's triumphal route to victory—or a half-hour of its highlights—was covered on network cable TV. But *not*, as one might expect, on C-Span. Instead, it was covered by Comedy Central, which we can expect to give similar coverage to the rest of the Stern campaign. After all, what *other* network can we expect to cover a comic-oriented campaign? We saw the Stern bus ride up to the Albany meeting from New York City, the Stern entourage decamping at the Community Center site for the state LP convention! Stern waving his hand scornfully around the room, and declaiming: "This is a dump! Next year we'll hold the convention at my house!"

Stern and his raucous Stern Gang made mincemeat of the standard Libertarian attempts to discuss the issues.

Stern and his raucous Stern Gang made mincemeat of the standard Libertarian attempts to discuss the issues seriously. Jim Ostrowski, scion of a distinguished legal family from Buffalo, whose father is a judge from Western New York, was greeted with the Sternian banner: "Ostrowski Sucks!" One of Stern's radio producers scoffed, "we ruined their chess club." Sternian girls paraded around the room, their bosoms hanging out of their skimpy dresses, and when Stern's nomination was announced, Sternian girls stripped to their G-strings. Ostrowski's LP rivals for the nomination tried feebly to get into the Sternian spirit. Hippieish Dottie Lee Brokaw, veteran LPer from Bingham-ton, was nominated by someone who proudly proclaimed that Dottie had "attended every hemp convention." Dottie Lee, speaking for herself, took off her jacket to try desperately to get in the spirit of the action. Another veteran LPer, Norma Segal, proudly announced, as *her* main qualification to be governor, the fact that she had been "Al Sharpton's [the clownish black radical activist] English teacher in high school."

When LP state chairman Ludwig Vogel ruled that the gubernatorial vote could take place by head count rather than by traditional secret ballot, Bob Flanzer, a middle-aged dentist, veteran LP activist, and long-time chairman of the Brooklyn party, loudly remonstrated that "this is a putsch." I can sympathize with Bob Flanzer, a good guy who saw the party that he has long lived for crumbling around his ears.

Any thought that the LP could put in one of their stalwarts as Lieutenant Governor was quickly torpedoed by Stern, who shrewdly insisted that his own hand-picked candidate, Stan Dworkin, come in with him in a joint ticket.

Throughout the proceedings, Stern was surrounded, not only by a bevy of half-naked beauties, but also by various repellent clones, all sporting Stern's trademark long, curly brown hair, dark granny glasses, and rock-type attire. One of the clones kept

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banging away tunelessly on a guitar, yelling "Howard Stern for Governor! Howard Stern for Governor!"

The porno shock-jock and clown Howard Stern has not only seized the publicity of a Libertarian race for governor. He has inevitably stamped the Libertarian Party, from this point on, in his own repellent and delayed-adolescent image. It should be clear to even the most loyal and most dedicated LP activist that the Libertarian Party is now dead as any sort of vehicle for serious social or political change. The Libertarian Party has been dominated by cultural leftists and hippie/druggies for several years. It is now and forevermore their helpless captive.

All we need now, to complete the merriment, is for Stern to top off his success this year by running for President in '96 on the Libertarian ticket. ■

American Jewry Saved!

by M.N.R.

Did you know that American Jewry was very recently in mortal peril, in imminent danger of another Holocaust? What, you didn't? Well, frankly, neither did I, because this dread peril was nipped in the bud by the ever-vigilant anti-anti-Semitic fighters of the American Jewish Committee before we even had a chance to find out about it.

What happened was this: recently, the eminent retired pitcher for the Philadelphia Phillies, Steve Carlton, was voted into the Baseball Hall of Fame, to be inducted into the Hall with due pomp and ceremony on July 31. Free-lance writer Pat Jordan paid a two-day visit to the great pitcher on his 400-acre ranch near Durango, Colorado, to interview him and his views on life for the panting readers of *Philadelphia* magazine. These days, of course, it would be considered impossibly narrow-minded to confine star athletes to their views on their chosen occupation; instead, every ball player is expected to be a "role model" for every member of the nation's youth. So therefore, every athlete is expected to sound off on every Deep Topic. But the price for this respect has to be paid; for every one of his views has to be Politically Correct.

In our present world, no thought crime, however obscure, goes unpunished.

But Steve Carlton apparently flunked the PC test. According to Pat Jordan, Carlton turns out to be a right-wing survivalist, and a Conspiracy Theorist of History. According to Jordan's account (in *Philadelphia* magazine, April), Mr. Carlton definitely seemed a Conspiracy Theorist, but he was a bit confused on which conspiracy was winning out. At one point he allegedly charged that the Russian and U.S. governments (separately? together?) are controlling us with "low frequency sound waves"; at another point, that the British MI-5 and MI-6 intelligence agencies are ruling the world, and at another that the "world is controlled by a committee of 300 which meets at a roundtable in Rome." [In case any reader doesn't know what's in Rome it's spelled V-A-T-I-C-A-N.] But none of this disturbed the ever-watchful sentinels of the American Jewish Committee. What caught their eagle eye was the pronouncement that the "Elders of Zion rule the world," and that "12 Jewish bankers meeting in Switzerland rule the world." In short, the famous *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*.

In our present world, no thought crime, however obscure, goes unpunished, although of course *real* crimes are committed with impunity every day. But the hawk-eyed sentries of the American Jewish Committee never rest, and

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they bombarded baseball leaders across the country with demands that Steve Carlton apologize, and that baseball cancel its plans to induct him into the Hall of Fame.

What do one's views of contemporary history have to do with baseball prowess? Not a damned thing, of course, but in a world of Political Correctness everyone has to toe the totalitarian line.

Did Mr. Carlton have the courage of his alleged convictions? Did he stand tall like the Bosnian Serbs and tell World Opinion to go to Hell? What do *you* think? No, it only took a few days for Steve Carlton to cave. In a statement released by his business manager, Mike Sheehan, Carlton angrily denied that his views are anything like those portrayed in the Jordan article. No, no, no, said Carlton, the "article has almost no truth in it....It is wrong about my baseball career, my personal beliefs, my family life and my new hometown." Etc. And Carlton went on to insist on his lifelong record of deep respect for every person, "be they Jewish, Black, or white." (Presumably, blacks were thrown into the picture to cover every possible angle." What, no denunciation of "homophobia"? No insistence on undying support for Nafta?

Thanks American Jewish Committee, for saving American Jewry, once again, from the burning pit.

Mr. Carlton having groveled sufficiently, touched his head to the floor and backed slowly out of the room, the gracious Lords at the American Jewish Committee nodded their approval. The AJC withdrew its protest, and AJC spokesman Marc Palavin agreed that "the sentiments Mr. Carlton expressed are laudable." Mr. Palavin added: "We're glad to see him agree that anti-Semitism has no place in baseball." Whew! Well, I'm glad *that's* settled!

In the meanwhile, off in the corner, Pat Jordan and *Philadelphia* magazine editor Eliot Kaplan "stood by" their story. The interesting point is that it hardly matters whether the story was correct, or whether Carlton was egregiously misquoted or not. The important point, for the American Jewish Committee and for American culture, is that Mr. Carlton hastened to deny the story and to bow the knee to the AJC. The important lesson for this story is not Truth, but Power.

(For this revealing slice of Americana in *anno Domini* 1994, see the *Los Angeles Times*, April 14).

And so, thanks American Jewish Committee, for saving American Jewry, once again, from the burning pit. But please, next time, would you please wait a little bit before lowering the boom? Because it really would be nice to find what the next poor SOB has to say *before* he is forced to retract it. Just for a few days? Okay? ■

Rumor Unfounded

by M.N.R.

A friend of mine recently heard, as solemn fact from a self-proclaimed reliable source, that I had become a convert to Catholicism. Amusingly enough, this is probably the longest-lived rumor in the history of the modern libertarian movement. As long as four decades ago, a friend waggishly warned me that I "was setting out on the road to Rome." The rumor is, as usual, not true, as in the case of most movement rumors that have not been sifted and published by Sarah Barton.

There is, through all the revelry, a serious point about the persistence of this rumor. For it reflects the inability of most libertarians, who are not only ignorant of but implacably hostile to religion in general and Christianity in particular, to conceive how

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anyone could possibly be an admirer of Christianity or the Catholic Church without being an actual convert. From a generation and a movement that knows little more about history or theology than The Inquisition or the complete works of Ayn Rand, this comes of course as no surprise. ■

American Spy in Washington

The Conservative Mind and Mindless Conservatism

by Joseph Sobran

It may not be fate, but it is certainly thought-provoking that Richard Nixon and Russell Kirk should have died within a week of each other.

Nixon's reputation, ruined by Watergate, seems to have been redeemed by his graver sins. Liberals who used to accuse him of "shredding the Constitution" are now generously giving the man credit for—what else?—shredding the Constitution.

You don't "shred the Constitution" by breaking a few laws. You shred it by *making* laws: laws the federal government isn't authorized to make. Wage and price controls, the EPA, OSHA: *these* are violations of the Constitution. And these are the things liberals think make Nixon, in the end, a forgivable figure.

Throughout the week of Nixon's funeral and the endless discussions and eulogies, I was struck by one fact: The liberals who had loathed him were, almost in spite of themselves, finding more reasons to praise him than the conservatives who had supported him and *wanted* to praise him. Until then it wasn't noticed how much of Nixon's life had been dedicated to appeasing liberals. And until then, I must say, his efforts hadn't succeeded very well, if being driven out of the White House with the threat of imminent impeachment is any measure.

Conservatives had backed Nixon as long as liberals were attacking him. That seemed to be the *only* reason they could find for backing him. I know. I was one of them, reasoning shrewdly that if Anthony Lewis hated him, he couldn't be all bad. If only I'd known what the Anthony Lewises would be saying at his funeral! Namely, that he wasn't all bad.

One commonly iterated theme of the week was that Nixon had "defined an era" in American politics. I thought he did just the opposite. With Nixon, American politics *lost* any semblance of definition. He spread confusion everywhere, less because he was "tricky" than because he was so confused himself.

Nixon was a perfect specimen of the post-Landon Republican, who entirely accepted politics on the terms established by Franklin Roosevelt. Nixon was convinced that the country really belonged to the Democrats, that the New Deal and the Great Society must never be challenged, that the Constitution and the foreign policy of the Founders (now known as "isolationism") must be abandoned. Far from having the "vision" imputed to him, Nixon wore his FDR blinders to the end.

This is why he was so uninspiring, and also so devious. For Nixon, politics could never be a matter of principle. It could only be a matter of tactics, ranging from dirty tricks to show-biz surprises. In this sense his anti-Communism, the Watergate break-in and the "China opening" were all of a piece. Even his boast that he had the support of the "silent majority" was an oblique admission that there was no articulable justifica-

Food for Thought...and Action!

(From the *Los Angeles Times*)

	Singapore	Los Angeles
Population:	2.75 million	3.5 million
Homicides per year	58	1,100
Rapes per year	80	1,855
Robberies per year	1,008	39,227
Car thefts per year	3,162	65,541

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tion of his style of governing.

As a matter of fact, I can't think of any more dispiriting employment of human ingenuity than defending Nixon. Try to imagine Mencken, John Flynn, or Garet Garrett doing it. Nixon is a major reason why the generation of Mencken, Flynn, and Garrett is nearly forgotten.

He is also a major reason why the Tenth Amendment is forgotten. For Nixon, the word "unconstitutional" had little meaning. The liberals were right about that. Their only quarrel with him was that he was willing to shred a little more of it than they were. They had made an odd fetish of certain passages, like the First Amendment; but that was no fault of his. Part of their game is the fiction that they are not abrogating the Constitution, but "developing" it. (It's a "living document," you know.)

Anthony Lewis often complains that American conservatives don't really want to conserve: they want to destroy. There is a sense in which he *is right*; and by his standard Nixon was a true conservative. What he conserved was the post-constitutional regime FDR established, which is what *should* be destroyed. A sound intuition told him that it made no real sense to save both the FDR regime *and* the Constitution.

Whence the weird and arbitrary scruple of liberals that there were some things the federal government couldn't do? Why couldn't it? The liberals may have been more articulate than Nixon, but he, in his way, was more consistent.

In 1968, the year the country that elected Roosevelt and Johnson was beginning to see the error of its ways, Nixon was already pretty shopworn. It was an optimum moment for a radical (i.e., principled) conservative, and Nixon arrived just in time to save the day for the establishment. George Wallace, a more radical candidate, was mounting a third-party challenge; many conservatives were tempted to vote for him. But Bill Buckley devoted an issue of *National Review* to discrediting Wallace and to purveying the theme that Nixon was "our" man; Barry Goldwater,, who, ironically enough, would denounce Nixon during the Watergate scandals, wrote a special appeal in that issue.

From that moment, the magazine, and maybe most of the conservative movement, became conservative in the Nixonian sense. Gone were the high aspirations of 1964; the pursuit of the ideal gave way to clinging to the lesser evil. Libertarians, Objectivists, Birchers, and hard-line Catholics had already been repudiated; now neoconservatives were embraced and, what was more, given veto power over the movement.

When the neoconservatives smeared Kirk for "anti-Semitism" (he had made a quip about Israel), *National Review*, which had defended Nixon, not only didn't defend its most venerable contributor, who had written a column for it for more than two decades; it didn't even report the attack. When Israeli troops shot up a West Bank Catholic Church *during mass*—a terrible sacrilege to any Catholic—the magazine didn't mention the incident.

In its pragmatic turn, which traded in its principles for barren political success, the conservative movement forgot why it had come in the first place. It ecstatically celebrated (and now piously memorializes) the victory of Ronald Reagan, under whom federal spending nearly doubled and who repealed not a single important socialist gain of the previous half-century.

And then there was Russell Kirk, a conservative long before there was a movement by that name. He had written his beautiful, meditative book *The Conservative Mind* in 1953, not because he entertained any hope of winning power, but simply because, as Samuel Johnson puts it, "Mankind more frequently require to be reminded than informed." Kirk was driven and sustained by the conviction that civilization is never quite destroyed as long as it can be remembered; we conserve by commemorating, not by collecting votes. He lived far out, in a grand old house, in rustic Mecosta, Michigan, with his family and his books; that was enough for a man devoted as he was to wisdom and beauty. Utterly powerless,

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and utterly content to be powerless, he lived a rich life in solitude, and he did more good than a hundred activists.

Time devoted a cover story to *The Conservative Mind* when it appeared; when Kirk died, it gave him a tiny obituary, beneath an equally short notice of a gay activist who had died of AIDS. ■

Kirk lived a rich life in solitude, and he did more good than a hundred activists.

Flog Him

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

From starving poor people in Haiti to promoting the ANC's vote-or-die program in South Africa, the U.S. is seldom a benign force in world affairs.

Take the efforts of President Clinton to rescue a juvenile delinquent from his just deserts in Singapore. The capitalist city-state is known for its prosperity and its public order, and therefore hated by liberals on two counts.

In the dark of the night, a lone woman can walk anywhere in that city and be safe. This is partly for cultural reasons: the Chinese, who dominate the city-state, are one of the least criminally inclined peoples in the world, as their crime rate in San Francisco as well as the Pacific Rim shows.

But Singapore's streets are also safe because of tough policing. The cops are empowered to protect the innocent and to give criminals short shrift. This applies even to "minor" crimes.

An 18-year-old American resident, Michael P. Fay, found this out when he was charged with committing 45 counts of vandalism and five counts of malicious mischief over a ten-day-long spree. In return for a guilty plea, the prosecutor reduced the charge to 16 counts, one of which was spraypainting 18 cars. The judge then imposed a $2,075 fine and sentenced Fay to four months in prison and six of the best. These are to be administered on his bare buttocks with a half-inch wide, disinfectant-soaked rattan cane.

President Clinton, apparently oblivious to the street crime in our own cities, called the punishment "extreme" and demanded that Singapore adhere to limp-wristed American standards. U.S. diplomats threatened a "rift" in relations. And Congressmen protested, Sen. William Cohen (R.-Me.) even accused the Singaporians of "getting out of hand." Whose, he didn't mention.

All of these interventions were rejected by Singapore, with off-the-record remarks about how, with Whitewater and all, they were surprised that Mr. Clinton had the time to meddle in their affairs. Perhaps they also knew that polls show a majority of Americans support Singapore's sentence, and would undoubtedly support Singapore's methods here.

Recently, I've read a string of letters from someone in prison for heroin smuggling. The room is nice, the guards are friendly, the library is magnificent, the gym is well-equipped, the televisions are everywhere, and even the food isn't bad. Any complaints? Well, there aren't enough word processors to go around.

As an opponent of the drug war, that is, one who wants the addicts to kill themselves instead of us, I'd spring this pusher. But I'd still like to know whatever happened to the idea of jail as punishment, with rock-breaking in the yard as recreation.

Rather than build more prisons, however, we need to reevaluate the whole idea of incarceration. For almost $30,000 apiece, we are forced to maintain these thugs as they pump up in the gym, rape each other, and learn further enhancements of the criminal's trade. What about corporal punishment and restitution instead?

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Singapore's system isn't perfect, but the cane is. We're told that Mr. Fay is shaking in his boots at the prospect. Poor baby. I say, loosen up the old rattan. It leaves "permanent scars"? Well, so does street crime, and I venture to say that young Michael will never pick up a can of spraypaint again. So long as he lives in Singapore, anyway.

Three other teenagers were recently arrested in Houston after videotaping themselves committing various crimes, and laughing about it. They were blowing up mail boxes, burning home air conditioners—which ought to be a felony in humid Houston—and piling junk on a bicycle path to wreck riders. In our "justice" system, nothing will happen to these young men until they mug or rape or murder someone, and probably not then. But a public flogging might be just the trick.

Over the past five years, Singapore has had to cane only 14 vandals aged 16 to 21. Here, a jail term can make you a big man. But not a tough spanking on your bare rear end. The punishment enlists the emotion of shame, particularly powerful among adolescents, in the cause of law and order. It would have the same effect among our youthful offenders, and I'd bring back the stocks and the rotten tomatoes too.

For more serious crimes, we could administer more strokes, and in all cases, force prisoners to work to repay their victims.

Doesn't America have anything to teach Singapore? Well, maybe we could send over John McEnroe, to make sure that their follow-through is nice and clean. ■

Miseducation 2000

by L.H.R., Jr.

"This is the beginning," said President Clinton as he signed the Goal 2000 Educate America Act. "Today we can say America is serious about education."

Wise up, Bill. Nobody believes that dumping $647 million on the public school system is going to fix a thing. Nor will posting a list of lofty goals on the principal's door.

As Mr. Clinton knows, 2000 is an election year, and he won't be running. When it turns out that U.S. students aren't the "first in the world in math and science," as his ludicrous goals state, he'll be collecting his plush presidential pension back in Little Rock.

As for his goal of achieving a 90% high school graduation rate, I have a better idea. Let's confer a PhD on every child at the age of 15, and then keep in school only those who can learn, and want to do so. The others can go to work, where they can pick up a useful skill.

Let's confer a PhD on every child at the age of 15, and then keep in school only those who can learn, and want to do so.

If anyone believes we need another round of Washington, D.C., education reform, let's give him a rap on the knuckles. The troubles with our system run very deep. We can't hope to solve them unless we're willing to reexamine our assumptions.

Helping us do that is Michael Prowse, an economic journalist for the London *Financial Times*. Unlike American journalists or academics, he speaks his mind. Even more unlike them, he's worth listening to.

For example, in a March 2nd article, Mr. Prowse asks us to throw out an assumption rooted in the 19th century. "You are educated first, be it to age 16, 21, or whatever, then you enter the world of work, at which point you can happily stop learning." This idea, always absurd, is especially outmoded in an economy that changes as rapidly as ours.

For most people, Mr. Prowse points out, it is a net loss to sit around a public

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school for 18 years, when vocational training can begin early. Far better to learn the basics, and then a skill that will actually be useful.

The traditional idea of apprenticeship allows a person to work for no wage or even a negative wage (i.e. the worker pays the employer) in exchange for the chance to learn. The Labor Department doesn't like this idea, because it violates every labor law on the books. A solution: throw out every labor law on the books.

What about higher education? It "imposes a crushing financial burden on professionals (or their parents), because they do not enter the labour market until their late 20s." Mr. Prowse would reverse the sequence. Young people would start working early, and pay out-of-pocket for needed education.

Besides, not everybody is suited for 16 or 21 years in school. Giving high school diplomas to 90% doesn't make them better educated or more prepared to make their own way in life. We hold the idea of "universal access" so dear that we can't see how inferior the universal product has become.

"Why is the world of education—from kindergarten to post-graduate study—so hidebound?" Mr. Prowse asks. Because it is "almost everywhere dominated by the public sector. Without huge subsidies higher education simply would not exist on its present scale. And this might not matter: lack of university chairs did not exert much of a drag on the 18th-century Enlightenment."

Mr. Prowse raises the specter of people paying for what they learn, meaning that they would value it. "We now live in a topsyturvy world where most parents are happy to spend large sums on cars, homes, gadgets, and holidays but regard 'free' state education as a natural right."

"If more people," he continues, "could be persuaded to regard education as a service for which they should pay at least something (preferably a lot), and hence assume some direct control, they might be amazed by the subsequent pace of reform.

Gatt is not about lowering tariffs but controlling the international economy.

Revolutionary? Absolutely. But far from unthinkable. Every other good and service must fit the needs of individual customers. Why not education? Some people write treatises on law, history, and economics. Others manage businesses, build houses, and repair cars. Others are day laborers. Others are entrepreneurs. In a free society, everyone can make a contribution.

From Mr. Prowse, we can draw up two good goals for 2000. First, every student will get the education that suits his needs, talents, and desires. Second, education will be funded by the student, the parent, or some other party in the private sector. A final proposal: get the central government out of education, and save that $647 million.■

Gatt Tricks

by L.H.R., Jr.

Read the fine print on a contract, your Dad said. And his rule applies to nations too, especially for treaties that purport to establish free trade.

The Clinton negotiators helped write the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, signed by the President on April 15. These advocates of statism and trade wars are anxious to pass Gatt. What do they know that conservative Gatt supporters do not?

They know that this Gatt round is not about lowering tariffs to expand the international economy. It is about controlling that economy. To that purpose, Article One establishes a new international bureaucracy called the World Trade Organization

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(WTO), complete with a new Ministerial Conference, a Director-General, and a Secretariat, and a plethora of committees, councils, and review bodies.

This powerful world agency will replace the old Gatt framework set up in 1947, and add new powers of enforcement. The voting rule among members, for example, will no longer center on unanimity. That's a prescription for either supranational bribery or coercion of non-obedient countries.

"Sustainable development" is eco-speak for putting bugs before people.

Will those powers be used for free trade? No, for WTO's stated mission is "greater coherence in global economic policymaking," meaning "greater surveillance" and "enforcement" of dumping rules and other damaging non-tariff barriers.

The WTO will make a bad system worse by increasing the role of governments in hobbling the global economy. As the preamble to the charter shows, the agency is founded on outdated Keynesian notions of "full employment," "effective demand," and "sustainable development."

Anyone who follows interventionist codewords knows that "full employment" means massive public works and other government spending. "Effective demand" is the theory that long-term private investment and capital accumulation aren't as socially useful as central planning. And "sustainable development" is eco-speak for putting bugs before people.

The WTO preamble also promises that "developing countries" will "secure a share in the growth in international trade commensurate with the needs of their economic development." That means redistribution from the productive to the deservedly poor.

As Hollywood lawyer and U.S. Trade Rep. Mickey Kantor toasted the completion of Gatt negotiations in December, the *New York Times* hailed the WTO as the equivalent of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. These two agencies are expensive and destructive. We do not need a trade version.

The mystery is that some Republicans are cheering a text that offers bureaucracy, foreign aid, eco-regulation, and economic planning. These concepts understandably thrill the trade negotiators of the most left-wing administration since Franklin D. Roosevelt, but Republicans should be burying them.

Even for political reasons, Republicans should consider doing the right thing. Despite the administration's confidence, the battle over Gatt and the WTO is far from over. It may yet be defeated by conservatives suspicious of international bureaucracies and independent businessmen resentful of a treaty that benefits large corporations while crippling medium and small-sized ones.

Four times in this century (1918, 1950, 1955, and 1974), such a coalition woke up the American people to defeat other international trade bureaucracies.

The most intense battle took place over the International Trade Organization (ITO), proposed in 1945. Like WTO, the ITO charter imposed detailed rules for tariffs, quotas, exchange controls, government loans, intergovernmental enforcement, and "full-employment" policies. And also like the WTO, it represented economic planning on a global scale.

So intense was public and Congressional dislike of the ITO that President Truman was forced to withdraw it. Big newspapers, big corporations, and big banks were for it, but the free-market forces in the House and Senate won out.

When Truman surrendered, "the most ambitious attempt ever made to reach

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agreement on a comprehensive code of rules" for international trade "ended in failure," wrote William Diebold, Jr., in his lament for the ITO published in 1952 by the Council on Foreign Relations.

The definitive attack had been written by Philip Cortney, an attorney and businessman in New York City whose book, *The Economic Munich*, was inspired by free-market economists Ludwig von Mises and Henry Hazlitt.

In the run-up to WTO ratification, we'll hear the usual apocalyptic predictions (world trade will collapse!) and the usual smears (protectionist! isolationist!). Yet the global economy has ballooned over the last two decades without management from above.

Conservative Republicans, who ought to be concerned for U.S. sovereignty and real free trade, should strangle the WTO in its crib. As in the past, only the free-market Right can do the job. ■

Gunning for the Insurance Industry

by L.H.R., Jr.

Brace yourself. Liberals in Congress have targeted another industry for government takeover. Housing and commercial insurance companies, they charge, don't provide enough coverage to enough people at low enough rates. The politicians want to fix that with legislation that will raise premiums for the middle class.

Two bills are on the table. Massachusetts Democrat Joseph Kennedy's legislation would require insurance companies to disclose internal data from 150 metropolitan areas, separated into tiny census tracts. The figures will be turned over to HUD, so it can crack down on companies with racial or ethnic disparities.

The second and slightly less onerous bill is Illinois Democrat Cardiss Collins's. It would force companies to disclose information in 25 areas by zip code and leave enforcement to the Depart-

Quotes That Need No Comment

Long ago, sometime between the sketching of the paleolithic cave paintings and the beginning of real history in 1965 when the NEA was foisted upon us, there used to be a real popular culture in America....In that veiled and lost epoch, many Americans played musical instruments instead of buying recordings produced by European musicians and Japanese corporations, wrote poetry for themselves instead of puzzling over thin volumes of crippled and bitter verse cranked out by whatever lesbian poetess-in-residence New York publishing houses have decided to make a celebrity for a week...—Samuel Francis, *Chronicles*

In the span of the same 50 years that America has slipped into crime and disorder under an ever more incoherent set of legal manipulations that have deprived society of the right to protect itself, Singapore has risen from a seamy, corrupt seaport to the astonishingly productive, orderly multicultural society that lives in peace because of respect for and enforcement of high standards of civil behavior.—Dr. Gregory P. Hetter, Letter to the *Wall Street Journal*

They [the Christian Coalition] want to undermine the public education system as we know it.—Frances S. Stein, executive director, Planned Parenthood of Westchester and Rockland Counties, *New York Times*

It was a country [Rwanda] with a very good record, proposing and implementing development activities. Obviously our democratization efforts aren't getting very far. If only we could somehow get a cease-fire, if you could find a number of qualified people still living or bring them back from abroad....It is heart-rending—the beauty of the whole place, the responsiveness of the people, their desire for a better life, for democracy and development, set against this intense struggle to dominate, a struggle for political power.—David Rawson, U.S. Ambassador to Rwanda, upon being evacuated to the U.S., *New York Times*

The obsession with a unitary state must be wrong. Only a hundred years ago, "South Africa" was no more than a geographical expression, a congeries of Boer republics, British colonies and African kingdoms. Its transformation into a single state in the wake of the Boer War was a mistake...—Geoffrey Wheatcroft, *Wall Street Journal*

In living rooms and cafes [in Hungary] some are asking: If Paul Touvier, a Nazi collaborator, can be tried in France for crimes against humanity on charges that he ordered the execution of seven Jews, why can't Communists who ordered and took part in the shootings in 1956 also be tried?—*New York Times*

The tragedy is that I don't know whether anyone will be able to stop it. When you negotiate with people with machetes, how can you make them understand about humanitarian neutrality?—Philippe Gaillard, head of International Red Cross, Rwanda, *New York Times*

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ment of Commerce.

Problem: the "civil rights community" can't agree on which bill to support. La Raza endorses Mr. Kennedy's, but the NAACP supports Ms. Collins's. Insiders told the *Washington Post* that's because she's "an African American."

Such is the nature of debate on the "second generation" of civil rights. The question is never whether a whole industry ought to be put under the government's thumb, or what dire consequences will result, but how to do it. In this case, appropriately enough, the answer may turn on the sponsor's race.

Regardless of whose bill passes, the data will be used to lynch insurance companies. The inner city is simply less insurable than the suburbs. Theft and vandalism coverage, for example, costs more in high-crime areas, or may even not be available. But once again, economic logic is to be banned as "discrimination."

To prevent self-incrimination, the insurance industry should plead the Fifth. Whether Commerce or HUD gets its hands on these statistics, insurers will be reeling from lawsuits (the trial lawyers are salivating) and firms will be forced to use egalitarian pricing.

These Congressmen need a course in insurance economics. Everything is insurable at a price, but sometimes the price must be very high. Is that "unfair"? These companies exist to make a profit, not to provide welfare, and they make that profit by, for example, assessing the risks of fire, vandalism, and theft to a home, and then setting premiums in anticipation of bringing in more revenue than they pay out.

In doing this, insurance companies provide an important service for property owners anxious to prepare for the unexpected. And the more narrowly actuaries can define risk, the lower the premiums. But if the government decides what constitutes risk, it wrecks the principle of insurance, and puts the companies on a financially shaky footing.

Force firms to insure houses and businesses in areas swarming with drugs gangs, and you endanger their existence.

The Collins or Kennedy bill would force companies into an irrational scheme called community rating. No longer will they be able to charge different premiums for different risks.

Several consequences will follow. First, people living in volatile areas will benefit at the expense of those in settled communities. Blindsided homeowners won't know what hit them, and they'll blame the industry instead of the real culprits in Congress.

Second, community rating will force small and medium-sized insurers to cut back on their benefits, fire employees, or go out of business. These companies operate on tight profit margins. Force them to insure houses and businesses at below market rates in areas swarming with drugs gangs, and you endanger their existence.

Third, community rating will change the incentive structure for businesses and homeowners in high-crime areas. Presently, the main source of protection is self insurance. This can take the form of private security guards, alarm systems, and cash accounts for emergencies. But if insurers provide low premiums and high payments, the incentive for self-insurance falls. The costs will be shifted away from those who ought to bear them to those who ought not to.

The insurance industry should study what happened to the banking industry when it went along with a 1989 bill requiring banks to provide racial data on their mortgage and business loans. The Justice Department and Federal Reserve began an unprecedented shake-down racket against them.

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Over time, banks have been forced to adopt de facto lending quotas, and even that is sometimes not enough. Left-wing "community activists" hold banks hostage anytime a merger or acquisition is in the works, and have extracted billions in lending commitments merely by calling banks "racist." The resulting racial set-asides are doled out regardless of credit rating, assets, marital status, job history, or other predictors of repayment.

Middle-class taxpayers will be forced to pick up the tab for these unwise disbursements, just as middle-class homeowners will pay for quotas in the home insurance industry. Race-based policies may not be as visibly confiscatory as taxation, but they are just as costly to the economy. They undermine traditional standards of merit as well. ■

Russell Kirk as Economist

by L.H.R., Jr.

Russell Kirk (1918-1994) was one of the most prominent conservatives of the post-war era and author of the seminal work, *The Conservative Mind* (1953). He will be remembered as the archetype of American traditionalism, emphasizing order over liberty as the basis of the good society.

Yet this is not entirely accurate. Although not a trained economist, Kirk believed in free enterprise and wrote an outstanding textbook on the subject. And he was well qualified, for he was a student of Wilhelm Roepke—who inspired the German economic miracle—and Roepke in turn was a pupil of Ludwig von Mises.

Like Roepke, Kirk defended the market economy with the tools of the classical and Austrian economists. He explained the logic of economic laws in "Robinson Crusoe" illustrations, and celebrated rivalrous competition and economic efficiency. Most important, he never shrank from comparing economic systems.

"Often the economist seems to be looking at the dark side of things, fretting about inefficiency and poverty," Kirk observed in *Economics, Work, and Prosperity* (A Beka, 1989). "Perhaps the economist tends to be gloomy because he is aware that most economic systems of the past failed" and "many economies" of our own time are "feeble."

Although not a trained economist, Kirk believed in free enterprise and wrote an outstanding textbook on the subject.

Kirk argued that this was true because citizens and government fail to appreciate the productive capacities of free enterprise. The foundation of that system is private property, he argued, agreeing with Sir Henry Maine that "Nobody is at liberty to attack" private property while saying "that he values civilization."

Reverence for private property, Kirk noted in *The Conservative Constitution* (1989), is often said to originate in Herbert Spencer's "social Darwinism." But "that is only true in part. For the American champions of private property" drew on "Roman law, common law, Utilitarianism, the writings of Edmund Burke, and the historical jurists, especially Maine," as well as the "authority of the Framers."

Property's virtue is the security it provides, and the freedom and prosperity it generates. Without it, and the attendant freedoms of contract and association, the market economy cannot exist.

Kirk admired the market mechanism, "a kind of regular, automatic system for communicating information about the exchange of goods." In particular, in telling producers what consumers want and in

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what quantity. By buying or not buying, "consumers send out signals" to producers.

He contrasts the market with two alternative economic systems. The first is "decision by tradition," which is "characteristic of societies with a very simple economy" that is "very poor by American standards." The second is the "command economy," which is "governed by a socialist or communist political organization —or at least by a centralized government with power to compel people to obey its economic decrees."

As early as 1960, Kirk began to criticize U.S economic policy, with its welfare state and regulatory apparatus. In more recent years, he became an outspoken opponent of high taxation, which prevents "individuals and firms" from providing for "new capital investments intended to increase production."

Similarly, Kirk was an opponent of inflation, which he called "an ogre" that "devours the prosperity of ev ery land." Under inflation, which he called the govern-ment's sole fault, "prices rise rapidly, investment is discouraged, the rate of interest increases until borrowing becomes very costly, and most people suffer economically." Indeed, his later writings on money and banking are sympathetic to the gold standard.

High public expenditures were also deplorable. When governments take money from the private sector to spend on grand projects, he pointed out, "governments have to resort either to excessive taxation or to inflation," making the whole society poorer.

Another unfortunate intervention in the market is arbitrary use of government power. "Bad governments—controlled by malevolent dictators, selfish or fanatical factions, or simply by politicians more interested in their own advantage than in the public good—frequently use their political power to rob the economy."

Quotes That Need No Comment

The present military map of Bosnia...looks not so much like a patchwork quilt as a shroud with holes in it. To believe in a future for Gorazde as a Muslim island in a Serb sea is as smart as arguing the case for the free city of Danzig in 1919....It is all very worthy for politicians of the West to pontificate preposterously...about borders no longer being decided by force of arms. It is also extremely unrealistic....I can see no workable solution which will provide any semblance of peace other than a good dose of "ethnic cleansing". No, not genocide (let us not allow our thinking to become completely woollied by American media cliches): the only way to ensure that the Balkan powder keg is defused for the foreseeable future is to separate the combustible elements. Population transfers are going to happen...and there are going to be a lot of people who will not like it. In the future they will be called the losers.—Peter Millar, *The European*

Samuel Huntington, director of the John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies at Harvard...suggests that a Western democrat would have been able at least to carry on a debate with a Soviet Marxist because of their common commitments to "freedom, equality, and prosperity," whereas no such conversation could be carried on with a "Russian traditionalist."—Peter Steinfels, *New York Times*

Nobody wants to get married anymore, except an occasional Catholic priest.—Mort Sahl

The Clintons are as honest and as moral as the day is long. Never, you can be assured, have they committed any of the Seven Deadly Sins: Pride, covetousness, lust, envy, gluttony, anger or sloth. Er, at least these people aren't slothful. —Editorial, *Las Vegas Review-Journal*

"How long does it take Bill Buckley to screw in a light bulb?" Answer: "It depends on how long it takes Norman Podhoretz to give him instructions."—Sam Francis, at the Joseph Sobran, "Champion of Liberty" Award Dinner, Washington, D.C., March 3.

Women have finally reached that ultimate summit of human achievement, the dizzying pinnacle from which all else seems petty and small. They've at long last produced the first female serial killer. Aileen Wuornos, a prostitute and lesbian, has gone where no woman has gone before, having confessed to the murder of seven men....feminist hearts must be swelling with pride. At last a female serial killer. Who needs assertiveness training after that?—Richard Grenier, *Washington Times*

America should be taking lessons from Singapore on how to prevent crime—hold the line-don't give in.—Letter to the Singapore Embassy in U.S. from Huntington Beach, Calif., Associated Press

Singapore is one of the safest countries in the world. We should have those tough kinds of punishment in America.—Keith Kimball of Vallejo, Calif., letter to Sec. of State Christopher, *Los Angeles Times*

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As a moral philosopher, Kirk admired the market economy most for its ethical foundation. For the market strengthens the distinction between mine and thine, and therefore discourages envy by shutting off outlets for its exercise. Any economy that functions well must be based on honesty, the basis of contract, Kirk showed, and the other virtues of free enterprise for him included hard work, charity, fortitude (his description of risk taking), and generosity.

"In our time of troubles," he concludes his book, "many strange economic doctrines are preached. Yet there is reason to believe that the productive market economy will be functioning well a century from now. The errors of command economies and the blunders of utopian welfare states have become obvious to a great many people, while Adam Smith continues to make economic sense." ■

P.C. Watch

by L.H.R., Jr.

Silver Lining

There's no more "nude shower dancing" at the Odd Ball Caberet in Los Angeles, says the Associated Press (4/22/94). But not because it's obscene.

The city's Disabled Access Commission has ruled 4-0 that the strip joint's "shower dancing stall," where men paid $20 to watch a nude woman take a shower, discriminated against women in wheelchairs who might want to apply for the job.

Controversial Digs

On Saturday afternoon, April 9, National Public Radio announced that Chinese archaeologists have been digging up some amazingly well-preserved mummies in a cemetery in the Xinjiang desert. But the bodies, some of which are 4,000 years old, are controversial.

The mummies, judging by their beautifully made boots and clothes, and the implements they were buried with, were a very advanced people. Apparently, they brought the wheel, metal-working, advanced looming techniques, and other developments to China. That's bad enough, since the Chinese have always claimed to have invented these things themselves, but the mummies are blond and red-haired whites, or "Caucasoids," as NPR put it, since "white" cannot be used non-pejoratively.

In other words, there was a significant European trading presence in China millennia before Marco Polo, and Europeans of the time were more advanced than mainstream scholars have thought.

NPR was interviewing a white archaeologist who had visited the hitherto closed area, and saw one of the mummies in a case. He said he was amazed at its race and state of preservation, thanks to the alkaline deserts of the area. There are many more to be unearthed, and the size of the cemetery, and others in the area as well show, that Indo-Europeans were engaged in systematic, large-scale intercontinental trade in 2,000 B.C. And by their tombs we can tell that they were merchants, not aristocrats or kings, making their clothing, for example, even more impressive.

The archaeologist was so embarrassed by the non-p.c. implications that he was stumbling over his words, and speaking in extreme circumlocutions.

Black on White Crime

Ever notice that while white-on-black crime is big news, black-on-white crime is never mentioned? This is despite the fact that virtually all interracial crime is black-on-white.

To maintain the myth that all black problems are the white man's fault, any white crime—i.e., a non-p.c. comment by an Alabama high school principal—is made international news for a month. But even Colin Ferguson, the Long Island Railway mass racial murderer (and immigrant), is said not to have acted from racial motives, and the racial angles of less spectacular crimes are simply suppressed.

There was a gooä deal of publicity in Washington, D.C., when Tom Barnes, an aide to U.S. Senator Rick Shelby (D.-Ala.), was gunned down on January 11, 1992, on Capitol

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Hill. But there was no mention of a racial angle, although one could have surmised it.

Now three eyewitnesses have testified that the killer, who walked up to the randomly chosen 25-year-old Barnes and shot him in the head, had said to his friends, "Let's go kill a white man, a white honky, a white [obscenity]." (*Birmingham Post-Herald*, 4/12/94)

Last March, Darryl Arnold, a black man, bought a 9-mm. pistol in a Los Angeles gun store and shot the first white man he saw on the street, in hopes, he later told the police, of starting a race war. (*American Renaissance*, 4/94) You've never heard the story, but imagine the unlikely event of the races being reversed. It is all you would have heard of.

Racial Terrorism in Pennsylvania

About six months ago, a white man, William Whitaker of Olney, Pa., told two Puerto Rican girls, who were running up and down his front yard and yelling at his daughter, to go home. A few minutes later, the mothers of the two girls, Pamela Rivera and Nilda Guzman, charged into his yard, screaming that Whitaker was "white trash" and a drug dealer. He responded by saying that no one had ever been found dead of a drug overdose, syringe in arm, in his house, as someone recently had in Rivera's.

A month later, after repeated shriekathons outside his home by the National Congress of Puerto Rican Rights, Whitaker was arrested and charged with "ethnic intimidation" and "making terroristic threats."

Rivera and Guzman claim that Whitaker made racial comments about their children and threatened to harm them. In fact, of course, it has been the reverse. He was hit in the face by one of the women, his tires were slashed, eggs were thrown at his car, and Puerto Ricans yell at him on the street, accusing him of terrorizing them and being a member of Mafia. If he were, of course, none of this would be happening to him. Note: it made no difference that Mrs. Whitaker used to drive the Guzman children to school.

If convicted, Whitaker, a 41-year-old tropical fish salesman, could be sentenced to 28 years in jail. (*Philadelphia Daily News*, 3/23/94)

Plenty of Place

When Black Muslim Khalid Muhammad spoke at black Howard University in Washington, D.C., on April 19th, 2,000 students cheered his denunciation of Jews as "honkies" (i.e., whites). But they really screamed their approval when he praised the black mass murderer Colin Ferguson, whose railway shooting spree could be seen as American public policy in action.

"I love Colin Ferguson, who killed all those white folks on the Long Island train," Muhammad told the applauding throng. "God spoke to Colin Ferguson and said, 'Catch the train, Colin, catch the train.'"

The president of Howard, Franklyn Jenifer, said in response that "anti-Semitism has no place on our campus, in academia, or in the larger society." But that's all he said. It's ok to off the ofay. (AP, 4/20/94)

Freaknik

A couple of years ago, the downtown shopping area of Virginia Beach, Virginia, was trashed and looted by thousands of black college students, members of fraternities and sororities at black colleges who had gathered there for spring vacation "Greek Week." The students also broke the windshields of white-owned cars with beer bottles, and sang anti-white rap music. The excuse, given out by the local NAACP, was that Virginia Beach was "racist." Why? Because, after previous years' experience, they had stationed "too many cops." As it turned out, of course, that didn't do them any good, since the police are usually instructed to ignore everything short of murder when committed by members of official victim groups at such events.

Last year, the party—now named Freaknik—moved to Atlanta. As usual, the goings on were suppressed by our free press, especially the *Atlanta Constitution*. This

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year, the *Commiestution* set some sort of record by running *22* feature articles praising the event, not one of which contained a hint of the real story. But the liberal tabloid, *Creative Loafing* (4/30/94), told some of the truth. The following comes from that story, and interviews with two shell-shocked Atlantans.

One, "freaking" is slang for sex. "I can't believe the city would sponsor something called horny picnic," said a resident of one of the gentrified areas visited by the 200,000 students. Indeed, it was the fashion for the young men to walk around drunk with their private parts hanging out. This is called "doggy dangling."

It's also fashionable for the young women to wear no underpants and to "turn backwards and do the 'bump and grind,' their butts arched high and rotating in large, circular motions." There was much anonymous, public sex. The crowds were constantly chanting the Freaknik motto: "Ruff! Ruff! Ruff! Where de Snoop? Doggy Dog!" This refers to popular rap artist and murderer "Snoop Doggy Dog," whose songs concern a particular style of intercourse popular among the college set. Tens of thousands of flyers advertised "kinky freaking" at a place called the "Dog Pound." Almost every person seemed to be carrying a booming boombox, or to have a powerful car stereo turned up high.

Urinating and defecating in the front yards of homes near Piedmont Park and other well-to-do areas was the norm.

Urinating and defecating in the front yards of homes near Piedmont Park and other well-to-do areas was the norm, with some homeowners having many hundreds of visitors and almost no grass visible afterwards.

Thousands of windshields were broken with beer bottles, and cars full of young people would stop in the middle of streets and yell and drink and fornicate for hours at a time, so as to block and anger what they called the "blue devils." Obscene rap lyrics were painted on houses and buildings all over the better areas of the city. Popular concessionaires sold "t-shirts about oral sex" and "gold fangs" that could be installed over one of your front teeth.

One city-sponsored concert was canceled by terrified musicians after gunfire and a stampede, which injured some of the partygoers. Other concerts led to parks being denuded of every bush and small tree, with most of the grass killed and record amounts of trash.

Oh yes, the Atlanta police were instructed to stand by and do nothing.

Orlando Alger

It was a "Horatio Alger tale for the 1990s," said the *New York Times* (4/22/94). Joseph Jett, a 36-year-old black man, rose from a small town in the Middle West to earn a $9 million bonus as head of Kidder Peabody's government bond trading division. But now it's known that by simply changing losses to profits in his computer, he created $350 million in phony profits, and concealed at least $100 million in real losses. He was, apparently, "loosely supervised."

Jett, who changed his first name from Orlando, had held only low level bond trading jobs at Morgan Stanley and First Boston—from which he was fired and laid off, reports the *Wall Street Journal* (5/2/94)—but rose quickly at Kidder through their affirmative action plan.

When another Kidder trader, Hugh Bush—a white man—complained about Jett's trading practices and what he thought was their phoniness, he was fired. Three other white traders were fired by Jett himself when he was promoted to supervisor because they too

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had questioned him.

A graduate of MIT, Jett completed all the coursework at Harvard Business School for an MBA, but the school refused to award the degree. No one will say why. Although described as brilliant, Jett spent his time at Morgan Stanley, report colleagues, "reading Kung Fu comic books and Muscle magazines."

S.H.E.E.P.

A group of conservative Harvard students decided to play a prank on P.C. They formed the most outrageous group they could think of, armed it with the rhetoric of the sexual left, and applied for student government recognition. They got it, and their "coming out" was solemnly announced in the *Harvard Crimson*:

"We are Students at Harvard Erotically Engaged With Pets, or S.H.E.E.P. We reject the use of clinical terms such as 'zoophilia' and describe ourselves as 'theriosexual,' a word which better describes the wild joy of our way of life.

"Though the bestial community is extremely diverse, embracing individuals from a wide range of social and cultural backgrounds, we share a common experience of oppression and misunderstanding. We have been marginalized by an anthroposexist society solely on the basis of whom we choose to love. Because we refuse to form relationships according to socially constructed categories such as 'species,' we represent a fundamental challenge to the institutions and assumptions of a speciesist, theriophobic Western culture.

"You probably know some of us already. Research indicates that nearly one out of every ten males and more than one of every thirty females is theriosexual. Some of us form relationships solely across species lines; some of us enjoy both human and animal relationships. We are productive members of society, respected members of the community. And yet our lives are singled out for brutal repression by the laws of many states and by the prejudice of those who condemn our love for animals because they do not understand it.

"Fear and oppression have kept us silent for too long. It is time for us to speak out. We love animals. We are out, and proud."

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